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580th BROADCAST

Town Meeting

BULLETIN OF AMERICA'S TOWN MEETING OF THE AIR

Broadcast by Stations of the American Broadcasting Co.



Should Hawaii Be Admitted To Statehood Now?

Moderator, GEORGE V. DENNY, Jr.

Speakers

JOSEPH R. FARRINGTON

HARRY P. CAIN

WILLARD GIVENS

DANIEL G. RIDLEY

(See also page 13)

COMING

October 11, 1949

Should Labor Be Subject to Antitrust Laws?

October 18, 1949

How Can America Contribute to a Free
World?—A Report to the People

Published by THE TOWN HALL, Inc., New York 18, N. Y.

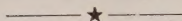
VOLUME 15, NUMBER 23  \$4.50 A YEAR: 10c A COPY



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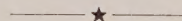
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The Broadcast of October 4, 1949, over the American Broadcasting Company network from 8:30 to 9:30 p.m., EST, was a rebroadcast of the program which originated in McKinley High School Auditorium, Honolulu, Hawaii, on September 7.

Town Meeting is published by The Town Hall, Inc., Town Meeting Publication Office: 400 S. Front St., Columbus 15, Ohio. **Send subscriptions and single copy orders to Town Hall, New York 18, N. Y.** Subscription price, \$4.50 a year. 10c a copy. Entered as second-class matter, May 9, 1942, at the Post Office at Columbus, Ohio, under the Act of March 3, 1879.

Town Meeting

BULLETIN OF AMERICA'S TOWN MEETING OF THE AIR

GEORGE V. DENNY, JR., MODERATOR



OCTOBER 4, 1949

VOL. 15, No. 23

Should Hawaii Be Admitted to Statehood Now?

Announcer:

Tonight, we bring you the last in our series of transcribed Round-World Town Meetings. If you have followed your Town Meeting around the world this summer, you have heard programs in London, Paris, Berlin, Vienna, Rome, Ankara, Tel Aviv, Co., Karachi, New Delhi, Manila, and Tokyo.

The chief purpose of this world tour was to help you as an American citizen to understand better the nature of our world-responsibilities today. Through the questions asked by the audiences in these countries and the speeches by the local citizens, I hope you have been able to better understand the way these people view our common problems.

Tonight, in Honolulu, we are considering another problem of common concern to us as well as to the people in Hawaii: "Should Hawaii Be Admitted to Statehood Now?"

Now, to preside over our discussion, here is your Moderator, President of Town Hall, New York, and founder of America's Town Meeting of the Air, Mr. George V. Denny, Jr. Mr. Denny. (applause)

Moderator Denny:

Good evening, neighbors. After exactly 111 hours in the air we left New York last June 25, and having covered a distance more than 27,000 miles, our graceful Pan American Clipper brought us safely back to American soil in this paradise, Hawaii. Honolulu, the capital of Hawaii, from which we are speaking

to you tonight, is on the island of Oahu, one of the eight islands which constitute the Territory of Hawaii, which became a part of the United States by annexation in 1898.

Every American remembers December 7, 1941, when Japan attacked the U. S. fleet in Pearl Harbor, only a short distance from where we are speaking to you tonight. But relatively few of you know firsthand of the beauty, the magnificent climate, of the industry and the friendliness of its half million people of many races and creeds.

Hawaii's greatest industry is sugar, which provides employment for nearly 30,000 people and produces more than \$100,000,000 worth of sugar annually.

Next in importance is its celebrated pineapple industry which employs from 10,000 to 20,000 persons annually and produces more than \$60,000,000 worth of that luscious fruit.

But one must come to Hawaii to really appreciate it. As this discussion proceeds tonight, you will learn more about the important islands in the Pacific, some 2,000 miles west of San Francisco, most of whose people, according to a recent survey, are seeking the status of statehood for their island Territory.

Mr. Joseph R. Farrington, Hawaii's non-voting delegate to the Congress of the United States, and Dr. Willard E. Givens, former Superintendent of Public Instruction for Hawaii, and now executive secretary for the National Education Association, believe that Hawaii should be granted statehood now. United States Senator Harry P. Cain of the State of Washington and Mr. Daniel K. Ridley, attorney of Honolulu, take the opposing view.

We have a representative audience of more than 2,000 citizens of the islands of varying shades of opinion who will ask questions of our speakers following the presentation of their brief addresses.

Now you'll hear first from a gentleman who has lived here in Hawaii all his life. He is the son of the late Governor Walter D. Rider Farrington, who was the chief executive of Hawaii from 1921 to 1929. After graduation from the University of Wisconsin where he prepared for work on his father's newspaper, *Honolulu Star Bulletin*, he served his apprenticeship for a number of years with *The Philadelphia Evening Ledger*, before returning to Honolulu to become managing editor of *The Honolulu Star Bulletin*. On his father's death in 1933, he became president and general manager of the paper. Before his election as delegate to Congress in 1942, he served in the Territorial Senate for two terms. Mr. Joseph Farrington, we welcome you to America's Territorial Meeting of the Air. Mr. Farrington. (Applause)

Farrington:

When Pearl Harbor was struck on December 7, 1941, the people of America rose as one man and declared, "We have been attacked." We of Hawaii believed then that out of this tragedy fellow Americans of the states had finally come to realize that Hawaii was as much a part of the United States of America as one of the 48 states.

Like all other Americans, we shared in the defense of our common country during the four years that followed this attack. We have the record of our people during the war and progressively the annexation has demonstrated our capacity to meet the greatest responsibilities of American citizenship in any crisis. And we felt that with the end of the war the promise of statehood, held out to our people, would soon be fulfilled and the vision of half a century realized.

With the end of the war now four years behind us, statehood for Hawaii is long overdue. For years, we have paid the same taxes as the people of the states and still we do not have equal representation. We need the additional authority of statehood. To be sure we would not now be in the 130th day of a paralyzing strike of dock workers if we had had the status of statehood.

An overwhelming majority of our people favor statehood now. We want Congress to pass the legislation for this purpose now pending on the House calendar. Every organization of any consequence in Hawaii, public or private, is on record as favoring immediate statehood. Mr. Ridley, how can you oppose statehood for Hawaii unless you distrust the basic principles of the American system of government which is faith in the people themselves? The people of Hawaii, as Dr. Givens will soon demonstrate, are fully prepared for statehood. This fact has also been well established, as Senator Cain knows, by a long series of Congressional investigations. Two held before the war showed Hawaii had at that time fulfilled all the qualifications for statehood theretofore required for admission to the Union. Four investigations conducted since the war for admission to the Union have brought five recommendations for immediate statehood for Hawaii.

I submit that as a state we of Hawaii will be in a better position to contend with all the problems that may arise than we are as a territory. If the contrary were true, then the basic principles of the American system of government are unsound. Surely we do not believe today in the long distance rule of carpetbaggers and bureaucrats in the discredited pattern of European colonialism. To continue to deny the people of Hawaii statehood is to play

into the hands of that small, but vocal, group of Communists who are active here.

For the Congress of the United States to further delay statehood for Hawaii will bring into question the sincerity and good faith of those who have long held out the hope of statehood. It will weaken the tradition of self-reliance. It will increase dependence of our people on the central government in Washington. It will retard Hawaii's progress by perpetuating the uncertainties, both political and economic, inherent in the territorial system of government.

I know the American people believe in fair play. We of Hawaii have faith in your sense of fair play. And tonight we appeal to you, the American people, in the name of justice and fair play, to urge the Congress to grant Hawaii statehood now. (Applause)

Moderator Denny:

Thank you, Mr. Farrington. Our next speaker is a Californian who moved west shortly after his graduation from law school at Stanford University in 1926. He arrived in Honolulu in June, 1927, was admitted to the bar in the fall of the same year, and has been engaged in the general practice of law here in Honolulu ever since, except for the war years, 1942-46. Mr. Daniel G. Ridley, will you give us your views on the other side of tonight's subject? (Applause)

Mr. Ridley:

Apparently, Delegate Farrington is not seriously concerned with the problem of communism in this Territory. I shall endeavor to show that communism is one of the major problems bearing on the question before this group.

Along with geographical considerations, the Congress of the United States is very much interested in the factor of communism. The Congress wants to know whether the large majority of territorial citizens really believe in the American system. To get a true picture, we must rely upon facts, and not let our emotions govern our conclusions. Therefore, at the risk of incurring the displeasure of certain groups in this Territory, I do not intend to color my facts.

May I call attention to the background of a large number of citizens who now constitute Hawaii's voting population. Many of these citizens were reared by alien parents who came from foreign lands where conditions were totally different from those existing in the United States. Those alien parents were born and reared under political systems where the concepts of liberty

democracy were stifled and only within the intellectual grasp of a few. Their children automatically became indoctrinated to a greater or lesser extent with the viewpoints acquired by those parents before coming to Hawaii.

We know that no matter how much you expose a person to education you cannot eradicate or completely change his outlook of life. Thus, although future generations of these children may fall in a different category, who can say, now, that the majority of our Hawaiian citizens are thoroughly steeped in the American traditions.

You know that this community is now confronted with a continual barrage of communistic propaganda. This propaganda itself indicates the fertile field which Hawaii now presents for the spread of communism. If you look closely, you will note that this communistic propaganda is sparked by members of those very groups which are now crying the loudest for statehood.

Does all of this show acceptance of the American political system?

As Mr. Farrington well knows, when the Communist party, in October, 1948, first came into the open in Hawaii, its local secretary publicly announced its support of immediate statehood for Hawaii. Does not that clearly prove that the Communist party itself feels that it could gain greater headway if Hawaii were removed from the direct control of Congress?

I want it clearly understood that I do not mean to convey the impression that most citizens of alien parents do not possess a great number of worthy attributes. If we were living at a time when the inroads of communist dogma had reached an insignificant stage, Hawaii probably could be assimilated as a state without so many dangerous results. Now, however, we cannot ignore the communist endeavor to control the world.

Hawaii's own advocates of the statehood cause tell the people here that we would have two voting Senators, as well as voting prestige in the House of Representatives, whereas now we have but one non-voting delegate. They insist that political equality with the states would prevent economic discrimination and place us in a better position to promote our welfare.

They further say that we could elect our own Governor, as well as elect or control the appointment of our own judges, and thereby become endowed with all the rights that free citizens are supposed to enjoy.

May I point out that by acquiring statehood we would weaken our economic relations with the mainland. Due to our geographical position, Hawaii has problems which are different from those

existing in any of the states. The whole economy of our island is dependent upon ocean commerce which, under the American Constitution, is solely within the jurisdiction of the United States Congress to regulate. As a Territory, we are the responsibility of all the members of the Congress. As a state, we would be the sole responsibility of merely two Senators and one or two Representatives.

22 As a state, the other 96 United States Senators could confine their considerations to their own respective constituents. As a Territory, all of those 96 Senators have an obligation and duty to consider Hawaii's affairs. It is bad enough when the Executive Branch of the Federal Government tells us that our waterfront strike is a local problem, without placing us in a position where all but two members of the United States Senate could follow the path of least resistance.

In electing our own Governor and in electing or controlling the appointment of our own judges, could we ever hope to obtain the caliber of men who now fill those offices by presidential appointment with Senate approval?

Certain local groups want statehood because, through organizing voting, they may be able to control elections and thereby dominate both the Executive and the Judiciary. The communist and communist front organizations freely admit that one of the major reasons they want statehood is to gain this control.

I have practiced in this jurisdiction, as a lawyer, for over twenty years and I know that our real Americans want their judges to sit as intelligent and unbiased individuals when administering justice.

Therefore, in my opinion, action by the Congress should be deferred. (Applause)

Moderator Denny:

Thank you, Mr. Ridley. Dr. and Mrs. Willard E. Givens have been two highly valued members of our first Town Hall Workshop Seminar, but Dr. Givens' particular qualifications as a speaker on tonight's subject arise out of the fact that he was Superintendent of Public Instruction here in Hawaii for five years and has intimate knowledge of the educational qualifications of the people of this Territory.

Dr. Givens has been teaching ever since he graduated from high school in 1906. Indeed he taught his way through Indiana and Columbia Universities, and was teaching when he was called in 1935 to be the Executive Secretary of the National Education Association, the professional organization of teachers, principals

ad superintendents from all of the 48 states and four territories of the United States. Dr. Givens, will you tell us why you think Hawaii is ready for statehood now? (Applause)

Dr. Givens:

As a member of the World Town Hall Seminar, I have just been through the Near East and the Far East, and I wish to stress the international importance of our carrying out fully every implied promise to our territories.

My good friend, Delegate Farrington, has made a strong plea for statehood for Hawaii. Mr. Ridley has raised certain questions.

May I remind you that Hawaii was an independent sovereignty fifty years ago when it gave its consent for annexation to the United States. At that time, Hawaii became an integral part of our country. Her industrial and economic progress is widely recognized. Her financial support of our Federal Government is substantial.

It is not material accomplishments alone, however, that determine whether or not a territory is ready for statehood; it is the spirit and attitude of the people. In Hawaii, the spirit of racial harmony characterizes every phase of daily life.

During my five years of work in this Territory with the young people of all races, I have seen them working together with a unity of purpose that I have seldom, if ever, seen in any mainland community. The people of Hawaii have the most important essentials of effective citizenship. They are proud of their citizenship which they received under the Organic Act of 1900.

All citizens of the Republic of Hawaii on Annexation Day were made citizens of the United States and all persons born or naturalized in this Territory since then are American citizens and under the protection of the Constitution.

Hawaii, as nearly as any state in the Union, approximates the American ideal of equality of opportunity. She has well-equipped schools throughout every part of the Territory. The percentage of illiteracy among native-born citizens is practically nil. No one racial group dominates the elections. I doubt if any racial group for selfish purposes will ever dominate the elections in Hawaii. A very large percentage of the citizens entitled to vote do so with a keen sense of civic responsibility.

I know that the people of Hawaii have an understanding of American institutions and an appreciation of what these institutions mean to the individual and to society.

I am sure that the American people—all of them in all of the states—have a vested interest in the statehood of Hawaii. Our

people, generally, recognize that the very foundations of democracy are embedded in the precepts of self-government. They know that government of and by the people, achieved through universal education and experience, is the basic concept which has enabled our country to develop in stature and to achieve the position of world leadership which it holds today.

I know that Senator Cain and his colleagues in the Congress of the United States will not deny to the people of Hawaii the privileges accorded to other American citizens. I am convinced that the statesmen in our Senate and House of Representatives will not break faith with the American tradition. They know that government by the governed is fundamental to the maintenance of American democracy.

I congratulate all the fine people of Hawaii for the marked success shown by all races in absorbing the real spirit of American institutions.

Despite any doubts which Mr. Ridley may have, I know the capacity of the youth of this Territory to work coöperatively and constructively for ideals, purposes, and common ends.

The Republic of Hawaii was established in 1894. During the 55 years that have elapsed, Hawaii's whole political, educational and community fabric has become thoroughly American. She has made remarkable progress through the fine work of her American schools, public play grounds, civic organizations, business institutions, and cultural programs. These and many other wholesome interests have contributed to the making of the youth of Hawaii into alert, ambitious, coöperative individuals imbued with community spirit and fully capable of administering American interests in this area.

A blessed event is now pending. Uncle Sam and Columbia are expecting. They have brought the cradle from the attic where it has been since the birth of the twins, New Mexico and Arizona in 1912. With various moods the 48 older members of the family are anxiously awaiting the birth of Hawaii as the 49th member of the sisterhood of states. (*Applause*)

Moderator Denny:

Thank you, Dr. Givens. I hope Walter Winchell takes note of your announcement. (*Applause and laughter*) We are very fortunate tonight in that Senator Harry P. Cain, who is the ranking member of the Public Works Committee in the United States Senate, has business out here in Hawaii at this particular time. On his trip to inspect public works here, this vigorous young

Independent Republican Senator is speaking his conviction on tonight's subject.

Senator Cain, Republican of the State of Washington, is a rugged individualist who left a good business to enter politics as Mayor of Tacoma in 1939. When we got into war, he served in Europe as a paratrooper. He received the Purple Heart, the Legion of Merit, and other decorations. He returned home, ran for the Senate in 1946, and took office in that august body in January, 1947.

Well, Senator Cain, what do you think of Hawaii's bid for statehood? Harry Cain. (*Applause*)

Mr. Cain:

Mr. Denny, before suggesting that Delegate Farrington and Mr. Givens are wrong when they maintain that Hawaii—the Territory—ought now become the 49th state, I wish to pay my respects to the Hawaiian Islands. This has been my first, but not my last, visit. (*Applause*) No people anywhere, I think, could be more gracious, friendly, and hospitable. These fine people are good citizens today as they have always been. (*Applause*)

When judging by the usual standards which continental territories met through the years on their way to statehood, I can agree with Joe Farrington and Mr. Givens that Hawaii is today a reasonable risk for statehood.

We differ tonight only because they insist on statehood now, while I am convinced that several unusual standards remain to be conquered before statehood will be granted to Hawaii by the Congress.

I seek to help Hawaii. I seek to help Hawaii now by relating what I conceive to be the situation confronting Hawaii's determined hope for statehood.

One of the major reasons why the Congress has been slow in giving serious consideration to the Hawaiian statehood issue is because few Americans—in or out of the Congress—have taken, through the years, a real interest in the question.

The average American, living on the continent, is possessed of little knowledge concerning the economic, political, and social life of the Territory of Hawaii. This Town Meeting of the Air tonight will stimulate interest in Hawaii as nothing has done for years.

We must all agree that no action on Hawaiian statehood will be taken in the present session of the 81st Congress. Joe Farrington knows this to be a fact as well as I do. There simply isn't time. The President will not press for action and the Congress will not

demand it. There are foreign and domestic issues which have clear priority.

A much more important reason, however, is this: When the question of statehood for Hawaii is before the Senate of the United States, that body must determine whether noncontiguous territories are to be admitted in the future as states of our Union. No such policy has as yet been either seriously discussed or agreed to.

If Hawaii, situated 2,400 miles from the mainland at San Francisco, is granted statehood, it will mean that other territories will become states in time. Each new state will have two Senators. There are today substantial Senators and acknowledged students of government who presently feel that the Senate would become an utterly unworkable body should its membership, now of 96, be materially increased.

I think this question of noncontiguous territory—and possible areas, too—will be debated at considerable length. I think it ought to be so debated. Hawaii then will find it necessary to wait until this fundamentally important question has been resolved by the Congress.

As a Senator, I trust that the Senate will agree to explore the question beginning early in the second session which begins next January.

Another large threat to granting statehood to Hawaii, either now—which is the question before us tonight—or in the future, is, as my fellow speaker has said: Communism.

Until Hawaii can convince—and this is your job—both houses of the Congress and the American people on the mainland that communism is no present or future menace to the social, economic and political life of the islands, there will be no statehood for Hawaii. This is the fact which ought to be acknowledged tonight by everyone. This is the threat which must be done away with by the people of Hawaii before Hawaii has earned its full right of statehood.

There will be no statehood for Hawaii until this situation called communism has been liquidated. Rightly or wrongly, I know not for certain which, the Congress of the United States will insist that the Territory of Hawaii clean up its own house before Hawaii becomes, as I hope it will some day, the 49th state in our Union. (Applause)

Mr. Denny: Thank you, Senator Cain. Now gentlemen who believe in freedom of speech on this program, so don't pull your punches up here around the microphone, but just keep the blows above the belt. Let's hear first from Delegate Farrington.

Mr. Farrington: Mr. Denny, the opponents of statehood no

THE SPEAKERS' COLUMN

JOSEPH RIDER FARRINGTON—Son of late Governor Wallace Rider Farrington who was chief executive of Hawaii from 1921 to 1929, Joseph R. Farrington is now the non-voting delegate from Hawaii to the Congress of the United States. After graduation from the University of Wisconsin he was a reporter for the *Philadelphia Public Ledger* and Washington correspondent for the *Ledger* and the *Honolulu Star Bulletin*, his father's newspaper. In 1924, he became managing editor of the *Honolulu Star Bulletin*. After the death of his father in 1933, he became president and general manager of the paper. From 1934 to 1942, Mr. Farrington was a member of the Hawaii Territorial Senate, and in 1942 was elected Delegate to Congress.

DANIEL G. RIDLEY—Mr. Ridley was graduated from the Law School of Stanford University in 1926. He went to Honolulu in June, 1928, and was admitted to the bar in the fall of the same year. Since then, except for the years, 1942-1946, he has engaged in continuous practice of law in Honolulu.

WILLARD EARL GIVENS—Degrees in several colleges and advanced degrees at still others have fitted Dr. Givens for his wide career in the

educational field. Advancing from a teacher in rural high schools, through various positions as teacher, principal, and superintendent, he was made executive secretary of the National Education Association in 1935—a position he has held since that time. During his climb up the educational ladder, Dr. Givens was Superintendent of Public Instruction for five years in Hawaii, and has a knowledge of the educational qualifications and needs of the Territory.

HARRY PULLIAM CAIN—Born in Nashville, Tenn., Senator Harry Cain now represents the State of Washington in Congress. Following his graduation from the University of the South, he became a reporter for the *Evening Telegram* of Portland, Oregon. From 1929 to 1939, he was employed by the Bank of California in various departments.

Entering the field of politics, Senator Cain was Mayor of Tacoma, Wash., from 1940 until 1946, and since that time has been a member of the U. S. Senate where he is now ranking member of the Public Works Committee.

During the war, Senator Cain served with the 18th Airborne Division in Africa and Europe. He received the Purple Heart, the Legion of Merit, the Croix de Guerre with palms, and other decorations.

to their position on three arguments. The first is noncontiguity. Contrary to what Senator Cain has said, this issue was settled in 1900, when Hawaii was given the status of a Territory and the promised promise of statehood. I think that issue, furthermore, has been erased by the development of modern transportation.

The second issue is that of communism. That is an issue to which the people of Hawaii are more alert, or as alert, as are the people in any other part of the country. There is evidence on every side of the effort with which it is being dealt. It was an issue in the last campaign and it was met positively and effectively then, and it has since been met as effectively by the Legislature.

I think that we will be able to meet it infinitely more effectively with the power that we will have under state government than we have as a territory.

Finally, Mr. Ridley thinks that we now have 96 Senators representing us in the United States Senate. I am sorry, indeed, that Mr. Ridley doesn't have the opportunity that I have to try to win attention, for Hawaii, of those individual Senators. He would not say very readily that they're so busily concerned with their own

affairs that they have very little time for us. We need our representatives. (*Applause*)

Mr. Denny: Thank you. Senator Cain, do you care to comment?

Senator Cain: Well, just on what my very good friend, Farrington, has just said, I have an extraordinary sympathy for him. He says that he finds it difficult as a Delegate from Hawaii to get the other 96 Senators to listen to him. Well, let me say without being disrespectful, that the Junior Senator from Washington finds it likewise difficult to get any attention from so many who have their minds on so many other things. I think Joe Farrington, the Delegate today, has just about as much chance to get their attention and gain their respect as a sitting Senator has. I should like to say in his presence that I think he's done an awfully good job of that. (*Applause*)

Mr. Denny: Thank you. Mr. Ridley, would you care to take the mike?

Mr. Ridley: I'd like to make one comment. Joe Farrington doesn't state exactly in accordance with what I've just heard. I've heard that he does a very good job in obtaining the attention of the various members of the United States Senate, whereas Brother Cain says, it's practically impossible for *him* to do so.

Mr. Denny: Stop passing the compliments around here, gentlemen, and get down to this argument. (*Laughter*) Dr. Givens. How about it?

Dr. Givens: I would like to express my full confidence in the Delegate from Hawaii. But he knows and I know that a man from Hawaii in Congress without a vote is not nearly as effective as two Senators with votes and two Congressmen with votes who can talk and vote as well as plead. (*Applause*)

Dr. Denny: Yes, Senator Cain?

Senator Cain: Mr. Denny, as one who sits in the Senate, I would like to agree in part with Mr. Givens. Two Senators, obviously, under normal circumstances have more force and effect than one Senator or one Delegate.

I have suggested there are several steps that Hawaii must take before it has that opportunity to have the two Senators which it hopes someday it gets. I would like to ask, Delegate Joe Farrington, what precise steps are being taken within Hawaii to rid either one or both great political parties of those who seek not only to take over those parties but to destroy the very Territory in which we sit and talk tonight. Joe, let us hear something about that. (*Applause*)

Mr. Farrington: Well, I'd like to say in reply to the question from my very good friend and the distinguished Senator from

Washington that the Republican party is not confronted with problem so far as communist infiltration is concerned. (Applause) On the Democratic side, he only needs to read the local newspapers for the last three weeks to realize that there is very vigorous and active movement to rid that party of that particular influence. (Applause)

Mr. Denny: Thank you. Senator Cain?

Senator Cain: Well, Mr. Denny, I really want to say to keep minds right on this subject, tonight, that Mr. Farrington has all something of great interest not only to us here but to those millions of people who listen in America. He says that the Democratic party of this Territory is taking some very vigorous steps to get rid of those barnacles who have in recent years taken over part of its control. (Applause) But Mr. Farrington hasn't said what we must all be able to say to that Congress and to America in due time. "We not only have tried to get rid of it, we have gotten rid of it." There hasn't been a single suggestion as to what that has been achieved. (Applause)

Mr. Denny: Thank you. Dr. Givens wants to chip in on this.

Dr. Givens: I'd like to ask Senator Cain, with the amount of communism that evidently is in the State of Washington, (laughter and applause) if he doesn't think he has a better chance of getting rid of it as a state than he would have as a territory. (Applause)

Mr. Denny: All right, Senator Cain, but in fairness to you, sir, I think we ought to call on Mr. Farrington to comment directly on the question you asked him. Would you like to have Mr. Farrington comment first or do you want to comment?

Senator Cain: Well, I'll just respond to Dr. Givens in a sentence or two because he has referred to my state and like every Senator and Delegate, you're awfully proud of where you come from. Number one: We've got entirely too many Communists in the State of Washington and, Doctor, we're doing our very best to get rid of them and it's no easy task. Now you raised the question with me as to whether it isn't easier to get rid of them as a state than it is as a territory. I am not entirely able to answer the question because I have only lived in a state.

But the importance of this answer I think is that the Congress is not likely to agree to statehood for Hawaii in the face of what they have reason to think is a spread of communism out here in the knowledge of the fact that, if that be so, those among the communists are either going to exert influence on or help to write a constitution which—to get back to Dr. Givens' original answer—the State of Washington had, fortunately, long before there was any growth of communism in this country.

Mr. Denny: Thank you. Mr. Farrington will you please comment on Senator Cain's direct question: "What is being done here to rid the two major political parties of the threat of communism?"

Mr. Farrington: The Senator wants to know particularly what is being done to rid the Democratic party in Hawaii of communism. Now, not being a member of the Democratic party, I can't speak with any authority on its particular problems, but I do know that within that party a new group has been organized under the name of the Young Democrats to contend with that problem in the forthcoming convention.

I know, in addition, that the National Committeeman of the Democratic National Party was recently sent to Washington in order to enlist the support of the national organization in the fight. I understand from what he told me only three days ago on my way to Chicago, that he is not having too much success in doing that. I might suggest that there might be a few difficulties on the other side of the fence and that they're not all confined to us right here in Hawaii. (*Applause*)

Mr. Denny: Thank you. Now Dr. Givens has a comment.

Dr. Givens: I just want to remind Senator Cain that the people of Hawaii have already written five Constitutions and they are fully prepared to write a sixth one if you give them a chance. (*Applause*)

Dr. Denny: Thank you, Dr. Givens. Since we have about 2,000 people out here in this audience who are also anxious to ask questions, while we get ready for our question period here is a message for you.

Announcer: You are listening to America's Town Meeting of the Air, the last of thirteen transcribed programs, on its first Round-the-World Town Meeting originations. Tonight's program comes to you from Honolulu, Hawaii, and the subject being discussed is "Should Hawaii Be Admitted to Statehood Now?" Our speakers are Mr. Joseph R. Farrington, Hawaiian delegate to the United States Congress; Mr. Daniel G. Ridley, attorney of Honolulu; Dr. Willard E. Givens, executive secretary of the National Education Association; and Harry P. Cain, Republican Senator from the State of Washington.

Copies of tonight's program may be obtained by sending 10 cents to Town Hall, New York 18, New York. For your convenience, copies of all twelve of the Round-the-World Town Meetings, from each of the twelve world capitals—London, Paris, Berlin, Vienna, Rome, Ankara, Tel Aviv, Cairo, Karachi, New Delhi, Manila, Tokyo—will be bound together in one volume and may be

ned by sending \$1 to the same address, Town Hall, New York
New York.

The bound volume will not include tonight's program from
anolulu, but only those from the twelve world capitals. So send
cents for tonight's program and \$1 for the series from the twelve
world capitals. Please do not send stamps, and allow at least two
weeks for delivery. Now for the question period, we return you
Mr. Denny.

QUESTIONS, PLEASE!

Mr. Denny: Well, we have a great many people here in the
ience with questions, but Senator Cain has a comment on
at was said just before we paused for station identification.
nator, come ahead.

Senator Cain: Well, Doctor, thank you very much. I think Dr.
ens would like me to answer what he said just before he sat
n and we changed the curtain, so to speak. He said that you,
Hawaii, knew how to write Constitutions, didn't he? He said
d written five of them, didn't he?

n the first to agree that you know how to write them. But
n was the last, or the fifth, written? In 1898, I think! If there
a Communist in this Territory known as Hawaii, in 1898, I'll
bite it! Which comes back to the question that we're not
ng about the conditions that used to prevail in an area in
ch previously there had been so much harmony and unity
h which we want somehow to recapture before you become the
h state of the Union. (Applause)

Mr. Denny: Thank you, Senator Cain. Mr. Ridley was pretty
nt during this period around the mike and he has a comment
w.

Mr. Ridley: I would like to point out in that connection that up
il 1910 only 8 per cent of the population of the Territory of
wahi were entitled to vote. You can figure out, therefore, who
fted the Constitution in 1898—or it's 1894. (Applause)

Mr. Denny: Now, we're going to take the questions from this
y representative audience that is assembled here tonight
er the auspices of our fine local sponsor, Murphy Motors and
tion KULA, and the Chamber of Commerce. We start with a
nber of our Town Hall Seminar, Miss Anna Lord Strauss.
ss Strauss.

Miss Strauss: Delegate Farrington, I understand that, at present,
local authority is exceedingly limited and I would like to ask

whether there were plans under way for giving more local autonomy to the communities at the time of the change from territorial to statehood status?

Mr. Farrington: At the time the committee of members of Congress and Representatives of Hawaii drew up the Organic Act, three forms of government were under consideration. The first was statehood, which would have given us the full privilege of American citizenship. The second was the territorial form of government. The third was government by a Commission such as they have in the District of Columbia.

The Organic Act Commission believed that we should become a State, but the members of Congress were not prepared to give us such status until we had gone through a period of tutelage, and I am not going to speak.

Mr. Denny: Thank you, Mr. Farrington. Now the gentleman from the third row there.

Man: Senator Cain. With your experience in the Federal Government and the Congress, I'm asking if the people of Hawaii, if they became a state, would have a better opportunity to open our ports than we have as a Territory without being charged with strike-breaking or union-busting.

Senator Cain: That's a very difficult question to answer intelligently, sir. I am under the impression that the Congress and the Administration hasn't done a very good job with the tools it has had in its own hands (*applause*) to open your ports, which is simply to suggest to all of you that if the tools available to the Federal Government in Washington had been properly used, I think your ports would have been opened some time ago and you would not have had to worry as far as that issue is concerned about becoming a state at this time. (*Applause*)

Mr. Denny: That question, Senator Cain, as I think you know, came from one of Honolulu and Hawaii's leading citizens, Walter Dillingham. All right, next question from the gentleman on the aisle.

Man: Mr. Ridley, regarding the objection to children of alien parents—do not many of the stateside areas have large groups of this category?

Mr. Ridley: There is no question about that. But you've got to remember that all the people that migrated to the States and became American citizens in the States and now constitute the voting population thereof came over to the United States for the purpose of becoming American citizens and to free themselves from oppression, whereas the people in Hawaii—the aliens

me over here—came over here simply and solely to gain the mighty dollar. (Applause)

Mr. Denny: Thank you. Next question from the lady on the aisle.

Lady: My question is for Senator Cain. So long as the Communist party is a legal political party of the United States, how can the Territory overcome its activities?

Senator Cain: Well, I think that the Communists, as such—without reference to the Communist party, but the Communists as individuals—are attempting to take over, at least I am so told, one of the two great parties in our two-party system right here in Hawaii.

I have a lot of respect for the Communists, having served with the Russians on occasion in the last war. I met a lot of Communists among them. They are tireless. They are relentless. They are smart. They are ruthless. They stay up nights when the rest of us go to sleep. And the only way in which to get them out of—if it happens to be—the Democratic party is to outwork them and outthink them and outfight them. That would be exactly the same advice which I necessarily would give to the Republican party if the shoe were on the other foot. We're interested in Americans, not in political parties—certainly not tonight. (Applause)

Mr. Denny: Now the gentleman under the balcony.

Man: Dr. Givens. Senator Cain seems to imply that Hawaii must rid the world of communism before it can become a state—which is a pretty good job for any territory or any country. But, as an educator, can you from your experience in Hawaii tell me what education can do to rid the Territory of the so-called menace of communism?

Dr. Givens: Yes, education not only can—education has already done the job in Hawaii. Education has prepared young people, here, who are ready and willing and able and anxious to carry the full responsibility of statehood. There is no place that I know of that will handle that problem any more adequately than will Hawaii. Democracy, wherever you find it, will take care of Communism if you'll help democracy to do the job. (Applause)

Mr. Denny: Thank you. The gentleman on the aisle.

Man: My question is for Delegate Farrington. You stated that a strike would be over now if we were a state. Please give your reasons for this statement.

Mr. Farrington: My reasons for declaring that the force of the Federal Government would be very much more effectively exercised if we were a state is based on the belief that the representations that we have made and that I have made would have

carried an infinitely greater force if we had been voting for President and Vice-President of the United States, and if we had voting representation in the United States Senate and in the House of Representatives. I can say from my personal experience that I know very well that such is the case. (*Applause*)

Mr. Denny: Thank you, Senator Cain?

Senator Cain: In response to what Mr. Farrington has just said I think that in part he is wrong. He was not, in this very difficult situation which confronts Hawaii, standing alone. In his reference to the Senate of the United States, he neglected—and it was purely an oversight, because he respects them—to mention even the Western Senator who, to my knowledge, was equally behind Mr. Farrington in trying to get this matter straightened up down at the White House.

I only mention that to indicate that I think that if you had been a state at this time you wouldn't have had any more force or effect in this particular problem than you have had as a Territory.

Mr. Denny: Thank you. A difference of opinions makes Town Meetings. Now, the gentleman on the aisle.

Man: My question is to Mr. Ridley. I am a student of Chinese ancestry at the University of Hawaii. Aren't you showing distrust in the American system of education by expressing fear that the citizens of foreign parents are not as American as you are? (*Applause*)

Mr. Ridley: I am not expressing any distrust in children of foreign parents, except insofar as I think that due to their childhood indoctrination they are more susceptible to the ideas of communism, and have not completely absorbed the liberty and democracy of the United States of America. As far as the children are concerned, they're not in the same position that the parents were, and I'll admit that they're absorbing the American principles from generation to generation.

I'll agree with you that, in another generation or two, undoubtedly those children of that day will be just as good American citizens as anyone else. I don't refer to myself, particularly, because, as far as they are personally concerned, I think the overwhelming majority of them, individually speaking, are just as good as myself.

Mr. Denny: Thank you. Dr. Givens has a comment.

Dr. Givens: I would like to say from personal experience that I do not know one single boy or one single girl in the Territory of Hawaii, who has gone through the public schools and at the same time has been under the influence of a Christian church.

is not as good an American as I am. If Mr. Ridley knows any, I wish he'd name one. (*Applause*)

Mr. Denny: Thank you. There are certainly differences of opinion on the sides here. All right, the gentleman over on that balcony.

Man: A question for Dr. Givens. Will Dr. Givens define for Senator Cain and for the audience what is a Communist, so we Hawaiians can rid ourselves of them.

Dr. Givens: I take it that for the purpose of this discussion a communist, as you are describing one, is an individual who is trying to block the progress and workings of democracy, and to install in this Territory, or in the states, or anywhere else, a system of government that is headed up by one Joe Stalin over the Kremlin.

If that is true, we know that there is one way to head that off, and that is to give those of us who really believe in democracy a chance to show how well it works. In a democracy, you're bound to have strikes. If you don't want a strike, go over to Russia—they're no strikes over there. They handle that easily. (*Laughter*) But in a democracy we believe in giving all minorities a chance to have their say, and we believe that ideas—if they're sound—will win in the long run.

Mr. Denny: All right, thank you. Now, while our speakers prepare their summaries of tonight's discussion, here's a special message of interest to you.

Announcer: As the first Round-the-World Town Meeting tour draws to a close, we want to express our gratitude to Pan American Airways for furnishing transportation to our Town Hall staff, and to the many thousands of Town Meeting listeners who contributed their dollars to pay the out-of-pocket costs of this trip. We know that your Town Meeting and the Seminar have made a deep impression in each country we visited.

Now we would like to know how you, our listeners, feel about this project as it draws to a close. We'd like your opinions—critical or otherwise—on each of these meetings or on the programs collectively. Already the members of our Seminar are eager to go on another trip to South America next summer, and invitations have begun to flow into Town Hall from other countries.

Our aim at all times is to serve the highest interests of our listeners. So, won't you let us know what you think about the first Round-the-World Town Meeting, and what you would think about other such trips in the future? Address your communications

to Town Hall, New York 18, New York. Now, for the summaries of tonight's discussion, we return you to Mr. Denny.

Mr. Denny: Senator Cain, may we have your summary first please.

CON Senator Cain: Mr. Denny, I have considered reason to believe that statehood will be granted to the Territory of Hawaii—now, but when time and enterprise have done two things: (1) permitted the Congress to adopt a policy which will offer statehood not alone to Hawaii, but to other noncontiguous territories as well; and (2), permitted Hawaii to rid itself, as it can do, of the evil of communism which seeks to destroy free government and free peoples everywhere. (*Applause*)

PRO Mr. Denny: Thank you, Senator Cain. Now, Dr. Willard Givens *Dr. Givens:* The Territorial form of government was designed for immature, undeveloped units of the American Commonwealth. Hawaii moved out of that class many years ago. Statehood for Hawaii is in the national interest. It would enhance the international prestige of the United States and give effect, in dynamic fashion, to the principle of self-government among the peoples of the world. (*Applause*)

Mr. Denny: Thank you, Dr. Givens. Now, Mr. Ridley, if you please.

CON Mr. Ridley: Hawaii should not become the 49th state now because (1) due to their alien background, a large portion of her people cannot be relied on to check the spread of communism and (2) due to economic dependence upon ocean commerce she is far better off as a direct responsibility of the United States Congress. (*Applause*)

Mr. Denny: Thank you, Mr. Ridley. Now a final word from Delegate Farrington.

PRO Mr. Farrington: Mr. Denny, I do not believe that our opponents have presented any compelling arguments against statehood for Hawaii now. We believe the promise of statehood is one that in honor should be fulfilled in this Congress, as we have demonstrated in peace and in war our capacity to discharge all of the responsibilities of first-class American citizenship. We believe that as a state we will be able to deal much more effectively with the serious problems confronting us than we will as a Territory. We believe statehood for Hawaii is not only in the interests of Hawaii, but is in the highest interest of all the people as well. (*Applause*)

Mr. Denny: Thank you, Joseph Farrington, Daniel Ridley, Dr. Willard Givens, and Senator Harry B. Cain. I want to extend

thanks, also, to the Honolulu Chamber of Commerce; to our
al sponsor, Murphy Motors; and to Station KULA, all of whom
e been extremely helpful with local arrangements and most
erous in their hospitality to our entire Town Hall group.
d like to add a word of genuine appreciation to the local press
l representatives of the wire services who have covered our
ivities here in Hawaii so admirably.

Text week our program will come to you from San Francisco
a subject of timely interest. We hope that you will plan to be
h us next week and every week at the sound of the Crier's
l. (*Applause*)

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